THE New Republic

The Case of Lewis Strauss

Editorial

Pages 3-6

A Catholic in Politics

Conversation with Senator Eugene McCarthy

Robert Lowell's Album . . . . . *Stephen Spender*

Reporters in Washington . . *Gerald W. Johnson*

Television Leftovers . . . . . *Stanley Kauffmann*

The Yanks Are Not Coming . . . *Eric Sevareid*

Some Quieter Americans . . . . . *Frank Getlein*

JUNE 8, 1959

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Washington Wire

The Third Largest Expense

THIS REPORTER can remember the last days of Prohibition. Everyone knew it wasn't working; few Congressmen wanted to say so. It was safer to let history develop by demoralization rather than by legislation.

Now we feel the same thing is happening in the farm price support program. It isn't working. It is unfair and terribly expensive. But our government doesn't deal with the problem. It is a kind of breakdown of democracy.

Secretary Benson reluctantly proposes to restore the tired old wheat support program for the 1960 crop because he can't wait any longer for Congress to act. Surplus wheat stocks are already two-and-a-half times as much as we used for food last year; by July 1, next year, we shall have $3.5 billion invested in wheat (one third of the total $10 billion invested in all carry-over crops). Storage alone now costs half a billion dollars a year—count it: $500 million. It may soon be a billion.

Much of current Federal aid profits businessmen and not small farmers. When stiffer restrictions are imposed, the big, mass-producing farms grow more crops on less land; the small farmer can't—he doesn't have the fertilizers, machinery and equipment. We have never seen anything quite like this episode before in history: the effort of government to absorb the economic revolution of agriculture's exploding production. It is now the third largest expense in the budget, coming only after defense and debt interest. It costs $5 billion a year. Everybody knows the avalanche will let go soon. The discouraging and ignoble thing is Washington's tacit admission that it is going to let the crash occur, that the government-made problem is greater than government's willingness to do something about it.

This month should mark the financial come-uppance of the Administration. June 30 is the end of the fiscal year. Between now and then the White House must come to Congress and acknowledge that it will have to raise the debt limit again; almost certainly it must ask Congress for permission to raise the top interest on government bonds from the present 4¼ percent because people won't buy its present bonds and, finally, it must reveal the staggering Eisenhower 1959 deficit, biggest in peacetime history, about $13 billion. It is the fourth Eisenhower deficit in six years.

This record is really quite bad. The Administration has followed every conservative economic admonition in the copy book and the result is four deficits in six years, four years of business recession and unemployment out of six years, and worst of all, a dreadful cut in total national production at a time when Russia's is bounding ahead. Eisenhower's economic policies are well to the right of Bob Taft's, and this is the result. How can he defend it?

Defensive Democrats

THE STRANGE thing is that Eisenhower has put the *Democrats* on the defensive. He has done this with the bogey-words "inflation," "spenders" and "deficits." Off-hand it would seem a wonderfully easy argument for Democrats to rebut. First, the argument didn't stop the voters from electing Democrats last November. Second, America has a better record against inflation than any other Western nation except Switzerland. Third, every economist knows that constructive Federal spending is necessary for an expanding population and economy. And fourth—there is that miserable Eisenhower six-year record itself.

But with few exceptions Congressional Democrats have cowered under the lash. Lyndon Johnson seemed to accept the inflation bogey at face value and publicly promised the US Chamber of Commerce to cut expenditures and not be a "spender." There has been no steady, authoritative, lucid presentation of the Democrats' position in Congress. The amusing thing is that Dwight Deficit Eisenhower, the President responsible for four deficits culminating in the biggest in history, has turned the tables and is flogging his opponents on the issue on which he is most vulnerable.

The Life Insurance Dollar

YEARS AGO this reporter bought $20,000 of life insurance which at present living costs would be worth about $10,000. The value of the dollar has slipped at a compound rate of about 2 1/3 percent a year, economists say, over 60 years. It will probably continue to do so. People put expensive dollars into life insurance and their heirs take out cheap dollars.

Now a revolution is promised. The daily press hasn't caught on to it yet. The giant Prudential Company has just won the right in New Jersey (over the opposition of the giant Metropolitan Life Insurance Company) to sell variable annuities. What are those? Life insurance tied to the cost of living index through the agency of the fluctuating market price of selected common stocks (stocks rise as the dollar sinks, making a hedge against inflation).

This is a striking development. Sales of ordinary life insurance reached the huge sum of $47.4 billion last year. Life insurance assets are now about $107 billion, mostly in fixed obligations (bonds, mortgages and loans). Under the Prudential plan they will enter the stock market.

It will be life insurance wedded to a kind of investment trust. There will be new risks as well as safeguards. A recent Supreme Court decision made insurance assets of this sort subject to regulation by the SEC. Almost certainly we are seeing the start of a financial revolution.

Notes

AS A PRESIDENTIAL candidate, Lyndon Johnson would suffer the reproach that Texas is one of the few Southern poll tax states left; they still make a man pay for the right to vote. . . . First signs of Rockefeller Presidential activity appear; he's due here next week to let GOP Congressmen look him over. . . . A mild reduction of the oil depletion allowance loophole proposed by Sen. Paul Douglas would save the Treasury $320 million annually.

T.R.B.

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THE WEEK 3
The Case of Strauss; Hoffa's Shadow; How They Beat Faubus in Little Rock

ARTICLES 9
The Yanks Are Not Coming by Eric Sevareid
A Catholic in Politics Conversation with Sen. Eugene McCarthy

BOOKS 17

ART 20

MOVIES 21

RECORDS 22

GILBERT A. HARRISON, *Editor & Publisher*
HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*
SELIG S. HARRISON, *Associate Editor*
ROBERT EVETT, *Book & Music Editor*
F. R. RUSKIN, *Asst. to the Publisher*
Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, James E. King, Jr., Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

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Correspondence

► *The New-Style Inflation*

SIRS:

CHARTS reproduced in an article written by Gardiner C. Means ("The New-Style Inflation," *NR*, May 4) show no wholesale price increases in textiles during the past 10 or 15 years. Assuming that there has been no ex-

(Continued on page 23)

The Case of Strauss

THE RIGHT of a President to choose his own officers is not absolute. If it were the constitutional process of advice and consent would not exist. Nor could the Senate have evaded its responsibility to examine carefully the qualifications of Lewis L. Strauss on the ground that the position of Secretary of Commerce is not of great importance. There is a tendency to think of a Cabinet officer as one who once a week sits around a coffin-shaped table at the White House and nods at what the President says and spends the rest of the week making speeches. He is, rather, an independent and powerful man. He is affecting policies he may have made by himself or at least has helped to formulate in collaboration with his peers and the President. He can be a most influential adviser—and his President is especially vulnerable to the persuasions of an articulate and impassioned courtier. He is running a department, directing and leading both his policy-making subordinates and the permanent bureaucracy. He is engaged in a running competition of ideas, often a battle with the top echelon of the rest of the government. He is the responsible spokesman for his department before Congress. He makes new regulations and interprets old ones, thus in effect saying what is the practical meaning of laws Congress has established.

What are the essentials of the case that has been made against confirming Mr. Strauss? It has been shown, for one thing, that Mr. Strauss and controversy are inseparable. Washington knows this: it knows that he could not stand again for confirmation as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission because of frictions he generated in that post. The environment of controversy is attributable in part to his acute self-esteem, his compulsive need for professional and personal applause and the intensity and dogmatism of his views. One is reminded of Shaw's comment that St. Joan infuriated people not by being right but by the manner of her being right. It is, of course, part of the credo of the managerial revolution that a man who doesn't make enemies must be neglecting his work. But there is a difference between independence and capacity for cooperation, between self-reliance and disdain for the talents of others, between direction and dictation.

With respect to the challenges against the integrity of Mr. Strauss' word, it can be said at once that the Senate hearings provide no conclusive support for any charge that he indulged in what was called unqualified falsehood. Yet that does not dispose of the doubts. There is still in the record of the Dixon-Yates case an unresolved conflict of sworn testimony between Mr. Strauss and Adolph Wenzell: it has to do with Mr. Strauss' acquaintance with Mr. Wenzell and his knowledge of Mr. Wenzell's dual role in that case as a representative of the First Boston Corporation and as a Bureau of the Budget consultant. But beyond that, there is a body of disputed assertion by Mr. Strauss—about the extent of fall-out danger, about his role in the Oppenheimer case—which may be still in dispute when archeologists dig it up 10 eras from now. All that

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can be said with certainty today is that the words of Mr. Strauss are not universally accepted at face value, and that his frequent claim-of-asylum in the privacy of executive conversation, plus his delight in technical devices of language by which he reflexively prepares positions of future defense against possible impeachments, are a nuisance. The issue here is not absolute truth versus absolute falsehood, but what Anthony Eden has called "the integrity of public engagements."

The attitude of the scientific community toward Mr. Strauss is something more than a tell-tale as to his integrity or his general talent in administration. It has specific relevance to the post for which he has been nominated. The Department of Commerce is responsible for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Standards and the Patent Office. It is quite easy to see, for example, how the department's interest in oceanography could involve it in such matters as the Polaris missile submarine's bureaucratic destiny because of a requirement for precise knowledge of the position of the submerged firing platform if aiming and ranging are to be precise. The Department's seismologists have a professional interest in such problems as the detection of nuclear explosions, and its meteorologists in such matters as detection and radioactive fallout. Almost the only man to come forward in person from the controversial sectors of the world of science with an active defense of Mr. Strauss before the Commerce Committee of the Senate was Dr. Edward Teller, and scientists are not unanimous in regarding Dr. Teller as an innocent in the seething politics of their profession. Dr. Teller might be called the co-discoverer with Mr. Strauss of the "clean bomb" which sought to kill off—immaculately—the opponents of uncurbed nuclear testing.

The vote of no-confidence in Mr. Strauss registered this spring by the domestic members of the American Physical Society must here be noted. Mr. Strauss was invited to speak before the annual dinner of the society in Washington in May. His opponents feared this could be construed as an endorsement of Mr. Strauss in his struggle for confirmation, and they polled the members to find out whether he was welcome on that basis. According to David L. Hill, a former chairman of the Federation of American Scientists and long-connected with the Los Alamos atomic laboratories, the question went to 12,300 members. There were 5,032 replies. Of those which came down clearly on one side or the other, 2,695 were against Mr. Strauss and 1,472 for him.

Much of the opposition to Mr. Strauss in the scientific world arises from his role in the discontinuance of the security clearance of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer under AEC proceedings in 1954. The record says that he did, as one of his first acts upon assuming the AEC chairmanship in 1953, initiate a review of Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance. But whatever Mr. Strauss' exact role was (and we think he was a prime mover), a large segment of the scientific community blames him for a savage assault on a unique talent with the ultimate result of denying that talent to the sustained service of the government. The nominee's remarkable egocentricity has done nothing to pacify his critics: "I proposed and procured" a nuclear detection system; "I began the movement to initiate" the hydrogen bomb. With his extraordinary lack of perspective on himself, Mr. Strauss has been too quick to nominate himself to one niche after another in the Hall of Fame.

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But much more than a man's personality has been under review in the Senate. The point also has been made by Mr. Strauss' opponents that the messianic dogmatism of his views on the Soviet Union would cause him to marshal the pertinent powers of the Department of Commerce to block any *detente* with the USSR on the suspension of nuclear tests. The question that has been asked is not whether a test agreement is desirable, but whether Mr. Strauss believes *negotiation* is desirable. In this connection, the objectivity with which Mr. Strauss handles scientific data has repeatedly been brought into question: in the dispute over export of radioisotopes; in his grossly exaggerated claims for the "clean bomb" that could only be perfected by more testings; in the controversy of the range of seismic detection of the Rainier underground shot—which had a direct and supremely important bearing on the practicability of a safe-guarded test ban. It has not been conclusively shown that Mr. Strauss monkeyed with the facts in any of these instances, but there are many people who are not conclusively persuaded that he did not. This is another area in which the problem Mr. Strauss presents is not strictly fidelity to the truth, but the vexatious necessity of always cross-checking.

Sen. John O. Pastore (D, R.I.), who is on Mr. Strauss' side, wondered aloud during the hearings whether the nominee's "habit of classification and suspicion of Russia" have "built up a block against liberalization of peaceful economic exchange." Mr. Strauss in turn answered that certain changes in trade policy he has made in his new post must be correct "because the Soviet Union doesn't approve of them." But if that is the yardstick, it would seem to rule out any trade arrangement between the United States and the Soviet Union which can be approved by both as serving their respective self-interests.

The witness went on to say that he had put copper back on the restricted list of commodities as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and that if 28-inch and 30-inch oil pipe had not been on the proscribed list when he became Secretary, "it would be now."

This question of permitting export of 12,000 tons of oil pipe in 28-inch and 30-inch sizes to the USSR had come before an interdepartmental committee chaired by Mr. Strauss and having members also from State, Treas-

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ury, Defense, Interior, Agriculture and Labor Departments. Mr. Strauss' public comment on this issue is characteristically intricate. He said, "There is absolutely no difference between the State Department and the Department of Commerce on this," and that "there was no objection to the course of action I recommended," which, as may be guessed, was against the export. That is true insofar as it is true that the State Department did not appeal from the committee decision once it was made, as it might have. But once more it is necessary to conduct a full field investigation to find out what the important truth is: The State Department did *not* object to the export, felt that the amount of pipe involved was insignificant, and felt that the USSR would get it from West Germany if it couldn't get it from the US. The State Department saw some slight psychological advantage in permitting the export. Mr. Strauss, after the dispute was closed, told the Commerce Committee he believed the US was the only supplier of pipe in those sizes. But the State Department, as has been seen, thought differently.

The issue again is not whether Mr. Strauss is technically correct, but whether he should be determining these matters. The Department of Commerce should take part in the formulation of foreign trade policy only to the extent of monitoring strains upon the domestic economy. Yet Mr. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce *has* broad powers to license or refuse to license certain exports, and has demonstrated a willingness to use them contrary to the judgment of the Department of State, which should have primacy. This is a situation in which the characteristics of this man and of this President do make something of a special case. Mr. Strauss' whole record of performance testifies to his readiness to step outside his jurisdiction to settle matters to his liking. As to the President, it is known that he has bowed to what he accepts as the collective wisdom of his government on this very kind of issue: On at least two occasions he has publicly declared his faith in the ability of the United States to engage safely in "Yankee trading" with Red China, but on the wistful grounds that "you fellows don't seem to agree with me," has yielded to their opposition.

What of Mr. Strauss' general qualification to be Secretary of Commerce? The Department of Commerce has 31,000 employees and a budget of $450 million, plus two-thirds of a billion for roads. It includes, besides the sections already named, the Bureau of Public Roads, the Defense Air Transport Administration, the Maritime Administration, the Maritime Board, the Business and Defense Services Administration, the Office of the Bureau of Economics, the Census Bureau, the Business Advisory Council, the Advisory Committee on Export Policies, the Bureau of Foreign Commerce and the Office of International Trade Fairs.

Mr. Strauss has been in office since November, but his answers to questioning by the Commerce Committee suggest that he is less than adequately informed outside the areas of his special interest, such as foreign trade. Asked about such diverse subjects as ship subsidies, the coast and geodetic survey, runaway flags ("flags of convenience"), transport policy, roads and aviation, all of them pet subjects to one or another of the Committee's members, Mr. Strauss ordinarily had to content himself with promising to get the answers, with assurances that he was "studying" the matter, or with plain "don't know." (No one can question Mr. Strauss' intelligence, but the record also discloses the interesting fact that he did not know there were labor attaches in American diplomatic missions.)

Republicans have charged that the opposition to Mr. Strauss is politically inspired. But this works both ways and could just as easily move the Democrats to support the nomination. For some of the Democratic Senators appreciate, even though they may not have read, Bryce's observation that:

> When the [Senate] majority is opposed to the President, they are tempted to agree to his worst appointments, because such appointments discredit him and his party with the country, and become a theme of hostile comment in the next electioneering campaign. As the initiative is his, it may be the nominating President, and not the confirming Senate, whom public opinion will condemn.

Supporters of Mr. Strauss who have been crying "politics" have not been conspicuous in their presence at the Senate hearings and have not conspicuously demonstrated a familiarity with the record. If politics has intruded, it was invited in by the Republicans on the Commerce Committee who chose to create a party-line issue on the nomination. And although the very intensity of his feeling carried him far beyond his documentation, even the bitter attacks on Mr. Strauss by Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D, N.M.) were not motivated by political bias in any ordinary sense of that term.

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As we said in the beginning, the case against Mr. Strauss is a powerful one. Is it an adequate one? On this pivotal question, it seems to us that reasonable men may differ. We do not think Mr. Eisenhower was well-advised to nominate him; but we have thought that about many other Eisenhower nominations. Mr. Strauss' political judgments, his tactics and his temperament do not inspire our confidence. But in fairness we must note that many favorable written testimonials to Mr. Strauss from distinguished leaders of science were entered into the record of the hearings. A handy summary of them all was contained in one from Dr. Warren C. Johnson, chairman of the General Advisory Committee to the AEC, written in July, 1958, when Mr. Strauss left the AEC

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chairmanship. One paragraph said:

> During the past five years we have seen a significant growth in the National Laboratories, the development of a civilian power reactor program on a sensible basis, the development of a military power reactor program on an unprecedented basis unequalled by any other nation, the establishment of an "Atoms for Peace" program of undreamed of proportions and of international importance, the development of unique weapons, and the development of the controlled thermonuclear power program, to mention only a few of the more important contributions.

Dr. Alvin M. Wechsberg, as director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, spoke of the "enormous contributions" by Mr. Strauss "not only to atomic energy but also to the well-being of the American scientific community." Dr. Lawrence Hafstad, co-inventor of the proximity fuse, wrote: "In my opinion your decision to back what appeared to be a somewhat questionable project at the time was essential to its ultimate success." Dr. Charles L. Dunham has praised Mr. Strauss' interest in the AEC's Division of Biology and Medicine, which Dr. Dunham directs: "I can with complete sincerity say that there has never been a commissioner, nor I fear will there be one in the near future, who better understood our mission."

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It has been not only proper but obligatory for Senators to lay the full Strauss record bare. But the Senators have not been asked whether they agree with his political orientation, or even whether they think he is the best-qualified person for Secretary of Commerce. They have been asked whether they will follow the customary practice of giving their consent to the President's naming of a Cabinet officer, or whether they will take the exceptional course of interposing a veto on that choice. Our system of checks and balances works as well as it does because of the exercise of an accommodating restraint by the several branches. The presumption in favor of freedom of executive choice in Cabinet appointments has been acknowledged many times in the past by the Senate, as was illustrated by its confirmation in 1945 of another highly controversial Secretary of Commerce, Henry A. Wallace. Of course, were there reasonable proof of a nominee's corruption or venality or incompetence, the Senate would have no alternative but to save the President (and the country) from his own error. But was such evidence presented in the case of Mr. Strauss?

We have no way of knowing whom else Mr. Eisenhower might nominate were Mr. Strauss rejected, but we doubt whether his second choice would be appreciably superior to his first. Nor are we convinced that in the time left to this Administration, the presence of Mr. Strauss in the Cabinet will grievously damage the Republic.

Hoffa's Shadow

ON "Black Wednesday," April 22, labor's representatives were sure the votes were there to defeat Sen. John McClellan's "Bill of Rights" amendment to the Kennedy-Ervin labor reform bill. The Kennedy-Ervin forces and the Democratic leadership left the nose-counting to AFL-CIO lobbyists who promised, but did not deliver, certain liberal GOP votes (only GOP Senators Javits and Langer opposed the amendment). Instead the vote was so close that Vice President Nixon had to be called on for his dramatic tie-breaking vote in McClellan's favor. Some labor personages were sufficiently distraught to whisper it was all the fault of their good friend Hubert —Senator Humphrey, caught campaigning on the West Coast at the crucial moment. But the fault was by all accounts labor's own. It was a clear case of over-confidence. The upshot of the 90-1 Senate vote in favor of the modified version of the bill is that the AFL-CIO was left to carry on its opposition in the relatively less manageable precincts of the House.

At this point Jimmy Hoffa made his entrance. Between April 25, when the Senate passed the modified reform bill, and May 20, when the members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council gathered on the mountain to hurl their thunderbolt against the bill in its altered form, the Teamsters quickly—and loudly—took center stage to announce they were having no part of the measure. The Hoffa campaign was and is directed as much at AFL-CIO unions as at Congress and it had, accordingly, a prompt effect (one old line boss in an East Coast city was told by Hoffa that if he ever had to face an honest election in his local he'd be out of a job. He agreed). Hoffa's intervention made it necessary for the AFL-CIO, in its own political self-defense within the labor movement, to take an unyielding "hard" line. But even were this not the case, the Federation would have had good reason to oppose some of the amendments that have been tacked on to Kennedy's original legislation.

The AFL-CIO's main objection to the bill, as revised and approved by the Senate, is its loose definition of "rights" which could invite endless company-inspired union harassment through litigation. For example, union members are given a right of "free speech" which is balanced by a "proviso" recognizing the right of union officers to exercise "discipline" in meetings. Precisely where the dividing line lies is not spelled out; it remains to be determined in practice, which is to say the determination might involve any number of court cases in which union officers would be forced to defend their disciplinary "rights" as against members' "rights." And if the union officers guess wrong about the meaning of the law, they could be sent to prison.

Furthermore, the trustees of most voluntary associations—churches, for example—are not subject to the

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strict legal accountability implicit in the so-called "fiduciary" provision of the amendment, imposing on union officials handling trust funds the same restrictions now placed on bankers. Here, too, the fear is legal harassment: "bad judgment" in handling funds can become the basis for a lawsuit once unionists have "fiduciary" status not applied to officials of other voluntary associations.

The AFL-CIO objects, also, to the reform bill's definition of "membership" as applied to unions: they claim that if all who work in a plant and have the price of admission have the explicit legal right to membership, company spies will infiltrate labor ranks. This objection, however, is at least in part a cover-up for the discriminatory racial policies of some unions which discourage Negro members and others which maintain Jim Crow and white locals side by side.

Hoffa's clamor against the bill has, willy-nilly, put the AFL-CIO in his shadow despite the Federation's efforts to emphasize its own separate set of objections. (The AFL-CIO does not, on record, admit to the Teamster argument that the Secretary of Labor would get undue powers.) Besides leaving the Federation the impossibly subtle task of clothing its opposition to the bill in terms different from Hoffa's, the Teamsters campaign has reawakened the hopes of management (and the GOP) for killing off any labor reform by taking its own "hard" line that a bill without a ban on organizational picketing and secondary boycotts is no bill at all. And most significant of all, Hoffa's leadership has made it necessary for House members who are also looking to '60 to avoid the appearance of pandering to labor. The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO knows that some bill is a political "must" if labor reform is not to be a major campaign issue in 1960 and on into 1962. What they would give to have last year's Kennedy-Ives bill on the statute books now!

How They Beat Faubus in Little Rock

Little Rock

THE DEFEAT of Orval Faubus' segregationist supporters in the May 25 Little Rock schoolboard recall election should not be interpreted as a reversal of Little Rock's views on integration—or the beginning of the end for Faubus. But the angry amateurs who led that campaign have finally made it safe for the political and economic powers of Arkansas to fight Faubus—and made it possible to win.

The chastisement of Faubus is the third in a series of setbacks. In December the people of Little Rock had refused his advice against naming three moderate members to balance the three pro-Faubus segregationists on the board. And in March the State Legislature refused him the power to regain control of the board by packing it with more members. The latest defeat hurts most—since it was administered at the polls. Few beside the Governor seem inclined to agree with his statement that the vote was "no reflection on my policies."

The direct cause of the uprising in Little Rock was the firing of 44 school teachers by a Faubus rump board, meeting in the absence of moderate members, for no apparent reason except their lack of sympathy for the segregationists' views. On May 5, in violation of the established system of contract renewals, the 44 were merely sent registered letters notifying them of their dismissal. Reaction was immediate. By noon the next day PTA's all over Little Rock had scheduled meetings to protest the teacher-firing. That night a Faubus board member, speaking at a school dedication, launched into a fantastic diatribe against almost everything and everybody in the US, from the Supreme Court to the Little Rock Housing Authority and *Arkansas Gazette* editor Harry Ashmore. After about 15 minutes there was a spontaneous walkout of disgusted parents and guests. The fact that the speaker had turned a very solemn dedication service—with the family of the man being honored present in the front row—into a political harangue was more than the crowd could stand. On May 7, for the first time since the fall of 1957 when the National Guard was called out to block integration, the Chamber of Commerce put itself on record on the school issue, and against the purge, without qualification.

Between the evening of the purge and the afternoon of May 8 "the good people" for the first time grew desperately afraid that they were going to have *no* schools, integrated, segregated or fumigated, if they didn't do something about it now. The first positive step came appropriately from the women. The executive committee of the Little Rock PTA Council on May 7 issued a statement strongly condemning the purge and suggesting the possibility of a recall for the members who did the firing. Then on May 8, 179 business and professional men and women met to form STOP, the committee to Stop This Outrageous Purge. The list of those present read like a who's who of Little Rock: the bankers, the lawyers, the large store owners, the doctors, architects, engineers, in fact about 75 percent of the most powerful of the upper economic class. Never before had the "leading citizens" been willing to declare themselves publicly, regardless of consequences. STOP endorsed the idea of recalling the Faubus faction and by late Friday afternoon recall petitions were being circulated. When they were turned in to the County Clerk on Tuesday morning, 10,000 names were recorded. The election commission met over the weekend and announced that a recall election would be held on May 25, 10 days away.

With that announcement everything went into a blur

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of speed and energy. STOP called on the Women's Emergency Committee to provide the womanpower needed to contact every person who signed its petitions or who was not a member of the White Citizens Council. Out of approximately 46,000 registered voters, STOP set out to reach 20,000 voters, in person or by telephone, all in 10 days. A file card was made for every voter in the city of Little Rock. Cards were given to ward chairmen who separated them into precincts and gave them to precinct chairmen, who broke down the precincts by blocks and gave the cards to individual block chairmen who were to see that every voter committed to STOP or *not* committed to the opposition was reached, had the issue explained, and urged to vote.

During all this card-handling and organizational work, which lasted from May 15 through May 20, rallies were held, PTA's met, lawsuits were filed, literature circulated, TV, Radio and Newspapers bombarded by both sides. Perhaps the low point of the whole campaign came on May 19. STOP announced a huge rally to be held in the Robinson Auditorium. Negroes scheduled their own rally in Dunbar School. Then the head of the White Citizens Council announced that the meeting at the Robinson Auditorium was going to be "fully integrated, with Negroes seated next to whites in all parts of the auditorium." Phony handbills, over the signature of the STOP chairman, were distributed in Negro neighborhoods urging Negroes to attend the STOP rally at Robinson. However, Negro leaders got the word out through colored taxi drivers, through their own Negro radio station and through the churches, and when the hour of the rally arrived, only one Negro couple showed up at the door. They were politely turned away and left with no protest.

Finally, Governor Faubus announced he would speak on the situation. The election was three days off. The Governor strongly supported his backers who were under attack, but in a very poor speech that included references to Catholics that were interpreted by Catholics as an attack on them, Faubus again repeated his old story of the unwed Negro and white mother in Washington for which he said integration was to blame. The speech couldn't have won him a single vote among Negroes or Catholics, and cost him the votes of many who were sickened at the crude attempt to play on racial fears and to beat the old dead issues of the *Gazette*, Daisy Bates, the Supreme Court, etc. An alert news photographer of the *Arkansas Gazette* got a great picture of Faubus coming out of the TV studio and being surrounded by the very men he wanted to avoid openly supporting: the head of CROSS, Amis Guthridge and Malcolm Taylor of the White Citizens Council, the Governor's ex-aide who now serves as aide for Congressman Dale Alford in Washington (but who was here—both the aide and Alford). That picture ran in Saturday's paper, two days before the election, and probably cost Faubus and his troops another 500 votes.

By Sunday night the STOP people had done their work. All that could be done now was to get the voters to the polls the next day and to guarantee an honest election. To see that the election was honest, every precinct judge at the polls was investigated and his or her views determined as accurately as possible. Watchers were assigned to each box in each precinct. To prevent a last minute switch in judges, STOP voters were stationed at the polls half an hour before they were opened.

This same Sunday night Faubus went on TV again—but what a difference two days had made. There were bags under his eyes, his face was drawn, his voice weak and faltering. He had no prepared speech. He started to bring up the old business about the unwed mothers but gave up after several words. It was the speech of a man who knows for a fact before the election that he has lost it.

Monday was partly cloudy but sunny and warm. Voters jammed the polls. By 1:30 the following morning it was clear that he was right.

What did the vote show? The great majority of the Negro vote went to STOP as did the overwhelming majority of votes from the fifth ward, the "richest" and Country Club section of town. The STOP victory, it was clear, was largely due to the ability of STOP to keep the integration issue *out* of the campaign. Given the choice between voting for integration or for segregation, Little Rock would still vote heavily for segregation. But more and more Little Rockians are gradually and grudgingly coming to see that the choice is no longer between integration and segregation but between some degree of integration guided by local forces or some degree of integration forced on local people from the outside. And many are coming to believe that no public school is too high a price to pay for segregation.

There is still a long way to go: another school board election is due this fall to elect men to fill two expiring terms of board members. And the schools are not yet open. They won't be opened until either Faubus declares them opened or the school closing law is declared unconstitutional.

To the Librarians of Montgomery, Alabama

TWO LITTLE RABBITS—the tale's for kids of four—
Love and get married. No offense in that.
And yet these voices which you can't ignore
Cry: "Burn the book! One rabbit's black!" The fat
Is in the fire. You wonder what to do.
Will they make little rabbits out of *you*?

ERIC BENTLEY

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The Yanks Are Not Coming

FOR YEARS we have been preaching the cause of the small against the big, the weak against the strong, the slow against the fast and the old against the new. And behold, it is beginning to happen. Heaven has given a sign. The New York Yankees are in eighth and last position in the American League, with the season well on; it is a sure sign; it is the little acorn; it is the straw in the wind; it is the warning wink in the Almighty's eye, putting the world on notice that he has some far-reaching plans and is setting them in motion.

The bigger they are the harder they fall; those who live by power must die by power; the meek shall inherit the earth, and it's about time; the way things have been going, it was beginning to look as if not even the meek would be much attracted by the kind of inheritance Fate seemed to be arranging. Casey Stengel need not brood; Fate is not against him; Fate has *honored* him. For he is the chosen instrument, harbinger of the new era; no one should be surprised at this choice; it has been clear for a millenium that God has a strong sense of humor and if it is to be a crochety old man instead of a child who shall lead us, let us not inquire too closely into heavenly motivations. Casey, prophet of the new life; let us hail him, but with flutes, of course, and woodwinds, not with sounding brass and drums.

Because drums and brass are out; along with home run kings and long drivers; the game now goes to the bunter and the putter. We can see it all merely by closing our eyes and letting the vision come to focus. No doubt it is because of our daily routine that the political change attracts our notice first of all. How charming it is going to be, in 1960, when the two great political parties fall by the wayside and the Vegetarian Party sweeps the country and its Presidential candidate marches triumphantly into the White House under a canopy of crossed carrots and celery stalks. How refreshing it will be to see Khrushchev begging for an interview with the Prime Minister of Luxembourg and retiring on the proceeds from his syndicated articles relating what the Prime Minister said to him about peace and common sense.

Some people, no doubt, are going to be stubborn about making the adjustment; there will be a good deal of pouting when it is discovered that the hydrogen bombs can do nothing but fizzle and the Springfield '04 turns out to be the only effective weapon. Pilots of grounded jet bombers are not going to like having to step aside as the doughfoots march triumphantly by.

It is going to seem strange to us all, until we get our true second sight, to witness the drivers of moving vans standing helplessly by their stranded vehicles as old ladies from Peoria and retired butterfly collectors

take over the highways. There will certainly be a good deal of nervous coughing, in hundreds of corporation board rooms, as the chairman of the board confesses he's baffled and calls in the third assistant accountant with the bifocals to lay out the new three-for-one- stock split. And we can't help but wonder what will be done with all the new skyscrapers of glass and steel when it is proved that a system of individual cottages with communication by foot messenger is a more efficient way to do business.

THE same sort of thing, of course, will happen in labor; and we wonder if they will really feel comfortable—the shop stewards of the bookbinders, eel picklers and canape arrangers unions—when they take over the vast offices now occupied by the moguls of big labor. But, as Pasternak says, change and renewal is the meaning of life.

One wonders if success will spoil Terrance Tittle when his bird-watchers TV program is moved from Sandusky and knocks Maverick right off its rating. Do you suppose Chester's character will be altered for better or worse when he wrenches the pistol from Marshal Dillon and pinks every one of the lynch mob in the proper arm?

Perhaps Destiny better not rush things. Inheriting a thing as big as the earth will take some getting used to, even for the meek. After all, if they get spoiled they won't be meek anymore and we'll be right back where we started.

ERIC SEVAREID

CBS Radio, May 21, 1959

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A Catholic in Politics

Conversation with Senator Eugene McCarthy

Is there a Roman Catholic political "line" in this country? Would a Catholic majority deprive non-Catholics of their freedoms? The Editor of *The New Republic* questions the Junior Senator from Minnesota about the "religious issue" as it affects 1960.

MR. HARRISON: I wonder if we could start off by agreeing that the "Catholic issue" in America is not, in 1959, what it was in 1928. I don't mean merely that Jack Kennedy is not Al Smith, but that use of the "religious issue" in politics is less fashionable or prevalent than it was 30 years ago.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I agree that the questions being raised today regarding Senator Kennedy's candidacy or the candidacy of other Catholics are somewhat different from those which were raised regarding Al Smith, and the manner in which they are being asked is clearly different. You may find an extremist now and then who goes back to the old allegation of the domination of the country by the Pope, but the doubts usually heard today are not of that order.

MR. HARRISON: Of what order are they? No one suggests that Kennedy represents rum or rebellion.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: No, we passed the rebellion stage long ago and the rum stage, too. Those who feel there is a "Catholic issue" in politics are, I think, concerned about whether America, or rather what's called Americanism, is threatened by firm and established religious doctrine. There is an assumption that the dogmatism of Catholicism is incompatible with the philosophy of democracy. Paul Blanshard speaks of "the struggle between American democracy and the Catholic hierarchy."

MR. HARRISON: And yet there have been a great many Presidents of the United States who have had dogmatic religious beliefs.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Yes, of course, believing Protestants have their own doctrines which they hold to just as strongly as Catholics hold to their beliefs. But in the case of the Catholic, there seems to be a general and added concern over the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, and this, I believe, leads many people to the conclusion that a Catholic President would be bound in a special way to an outside authority. A great many non-Catholics think this doctrine extends much further than it actually does and applies in detail to decisions in the practical order in a very specific sort of way. Brooks Hays is a good friend of mine, you know. Brooks was President of the Southern Baptists, and I said to Brooks, "I don't know why you worry so much about the infallibility of the Pope." I said, "If he is infallible you've nothing to lose and if he isn't why we're no worse off than the Baptists are under you."

There are a number of distinctions both historical and doctrinal which we ought to make if we're going to discuss this doctrine intelligently. It applies primarily to religious and moral teachings *beyond* those dictated by a natural law or obtainable by human reason—questions of revealed truth and of supernatural perfection. The doctrine also applies, however, to certain actions and decisions which are a part of the temporal and political order which involve interpretation and application of ethical conclusions. Yet, Protestants, too, pass judgment on the temporal scene. In a recent issue of *Look* magazine, for example, Geoffrey Fisher, the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, was quoted as having said: "Everything which touches the life of the nation is of concern to the Christian. It does not escape God's judgment by becoming in the party sense 'political.' The difficulty is that when the issue has become in that sense 'political', people are less ready to hear what the Christian judgment may be since for that, patience and a perceptive mind are required."

MR. HARRISON: But isn't it true that non-Catholics are less

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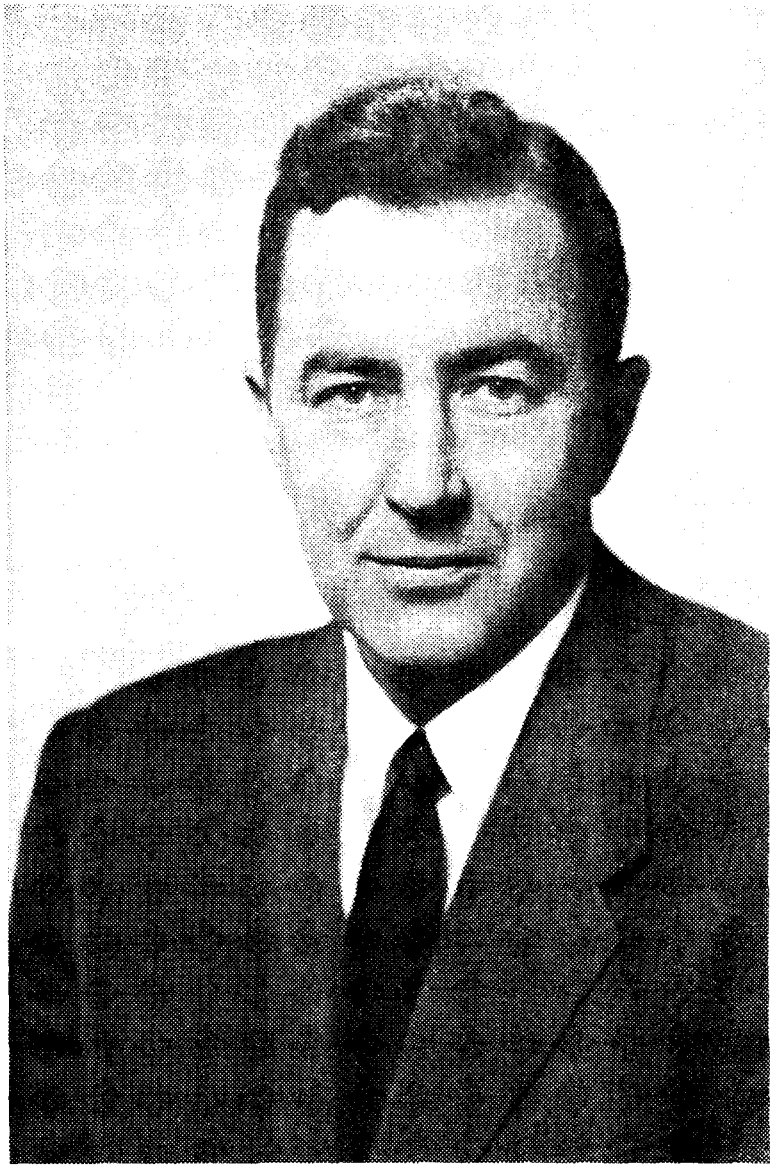
likely to agree on what is a "moral" decision than are Catholics? Isn't one of the reasons for apprehension about Catholic political power the feeling that in this grey area where political choices are involved, Catholic politicians don't decide just as individuals? It may not often be admitted publicly, but there is, I'm sure, a widespread feeling that the Catholic Church—clergy and laymen—is ruled by a few at the top and that therefore no Catholic is really "free" in the sense other Americans are free.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: The apprehension you refer to does exist. Whether there are adequate grounds to justify it or not is another question. Let's take divorce as a relatively clear case. Actually canon law does permit divorce or separation for certain reasons, but does not permit remarriage. Catholics who are judges in the courts of the United States preside in divorce cases and render decisions. It is reasonable to expect Catholics generally to oppose easy divorce and to expect them to favor stricter laws regarding the conditions under which divorce might be granted and stricter laws to insure family stability. Here we have to distinguish between strict, rigid, religious sanctions applied within the Church on her own members and the use of civil action to sustain the Church position.

In the United States we have come to accept the fact of differences. Wherever you have diversity of religious beliefs and philosophical principles, some dissatisfaction is inevitable. Members of some religious groups think drinking is a sin and when their convictions are written into civil law, others are unhappy. Yet if the state permits the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, the prohibitionists are dissatisfied. Whenever moral issues—which are thought also to have a religious sanction—are raised, some crusading and antagonism are inevitable. The state's function here is to eliminate extreme forms of evil and those clearly destructive of civil order. It cannot—or ought not try to—force the conscience of a citizen or attempt to make every sin a crime. Catholics—politicians or citizens—in a democracy must take into account both what they believe in principle as well as the practical situation in which they are called upon to make decisions, and they have to consider, along with everyone else who has political responsibility, the consequence of the passage of legislation and the consequence of the failure to pass it.

In the case of divorce laws, the possible effects on children, on the separated spouses, or upon general social stability and order, among other things, would have to be considered. A quotation from Pope Pius XII sustains this position: "Reality shows that error and sin are in the world in great measure. God reprobates them, but He permits them to exist. Hence the affirmation: religious and moral error must always be impeded when it is possible, because toleration of them is in itself immoral, is not valid absolutely and unconditionally. . . . The duty of repressing moral and religious error cannot therefore be an ultimate norm of action. It must be subordinated to higher and more general norms, which in some circumstances permit,



Senator McCarthy of Minnesota

and even perhaps seem to indicate as the better policy toleration of error in order to promote a greater good." In this area, it is a matter of prudence—that is, as to how far if at all, the Church authorities might expect the state to provide civil sanctions. But in any case, the individual Catholic legislator or office holder is the one who must make the final prudent judgment. He may acknowledge that his Church authorities are strongly opposed to such and such a practice, but the legislator himself has to make the practical judgment whether it is conducive to the common good or not for the state to make a law in a specific area.

MR. HARRISON: A further argument advanced by people who fear a rise in Catholic political power and particularly fear a Catholic President is that although Roman Catholics may differ on the practical applications of moral beliefs *today*, and may not try to write all their own moral attitudes into law, that is only because they live in a society which is not yet predominantly Roman Catholic. But what would happen to the rights of non-Catholics were Catholics a majority in this country? Take, for example, a statement published in *Civilita Catolica*, the world organ of the Jesuits, in April, 1948. I want to

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quote it in full because I think this is the kind of thing that inspires a good deal of Protestant suspicion of ultimate Catholic motives:

> The Roman Catholic Church, convinced through its divine prerogatives of being the only true church, must demand the right of freedom for herself alone, because such a right can only be possessed by Truth, never by error. As to other religions, the Church will never draw the sword but she will require that by legitimate means they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrines. Consequently, in a state where the majority of the people are Catholic the Church will require that legal existence shall be denied to error and if religious minorities actually exist they shall only have a *de facto* existence without opportunity to spread their beliefs. In some countries Catholics will be obliged to ask full religious freedom for all, resigned at being forced to cohabit where they alone should rightfully be allowed to live. But in doing this the Church does not renounce her thesis, which remains the most imperative of her laws, but merely adapts herself to *de facto* conditions which must be taken into account as a practical matter.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: It is obvious from the statement you have read that there are some Catholics who hold that point of view. However this is not the viewpoint which is held by all Catholics. Let me offer another quotation by the Catholic Bishops of the United States made in the same year to set against this quotation from the Jesuit publication: "We feel with deep conviction that for the sake of both good citizenship and religion there should be a reaffirmation of our original American tradition of free cooperation between government and religious bodies—cooperation involving no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen. We solemnly disclaim any intent or desire to alter this prudent and fair American policy of government in dealing with the delicate problems that have their source in the divided religious allegiance of our citizens. We call upon our Catholic people to seek in their faith an inspiration and a guide in making an informed contribution to good citizenship."

I cannot, of course, foretell what might happen if a majority of the citizens of the United States were to be Catholic. The Constitution would still be a strong defense of individual liberties. It is my opinion, however, that a majority of the Catholics in the United States today—a strong majority—would support the position of the Bishops stated in 1948. Usually Spain is cited as an example of what might happen if this country were to become strongly Catholic. Actually, Spain is not controlled by a majority of the Catholics in Spain. Spain is a dictatorship. On the other hand, take France. I assume that if a census were taken, a majority of the people would declare themselves to be Catholic. Yet there is religious freedom in France. Ireland affords another encouraging example to those who fear the loss of religious freedom where Catholics are in a majority. In some of the South American countries, the situation is not comparable. I remind you also that there are still established churches in England and the Scandinavian countries. I suspect that Americans of all faiths would be uneasy in any country which had an established church, no matter what religious body had the privilege.

Your question, of course, relates more to moral actions and pressures which might well be exercised without any significant change in the constitutional structure or without the establishment of a church. It's a question which is open to much speculation. It seems to me well established in the United States that government has a right to suppress certain moral teachings and practices which are contrary to the common good. The clearest example, of course, was government action to forbid and suppress the Mormon practice of polygamy as destructive of the moral stability of society. A more pertinent example is that of the prohibition movement in which much of both the opposition and the support was based upon a moral position which had religious sanction.

MR. HARRISON: I take it then that you don't think that Catholics merely grant freedom to others when they are in a minority and thus in no position to do anything else.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Such a position would, in my view, be indefensible. If such a policy were to be followed, it would not be a matter of Catholic doctrine. Let me give you a quotation on this point from Archbishop McNicholas, speaking as Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1948:

> We deny absolutely and without any qualification that the Catholic Bishops of the United States are seeking a union of church and state by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximate or remote. If tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of church and state. They would then, as now, uphold the Constitution and all its Amendments, recognizing the moral obligation imposed on all Catholics to observe and defend the Constitution and its Amendments.

MR. HARRISON: Are your views and Archbishop McNicholas' on this subject shared by many other Catholics?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Certainly, I would say, by most Catholics—at least in the United States—who have given any serious attention to this problem. I don't know how you could make an inquiry effectively on this subject, but it's my opinion that a poll on which the questions were properly worded would show that Catholics by a strong majority would be opposed to the use of political power to support Catholicism to the disadvantage of other religions.

MR. HARRISON: Well, now, isn't it true that Catholic lay organizations have acted in ways which encourage us to think they want to deprive non-Catholics of their freedom of choice? Take the Legion of Decency, or campaigns to ban books offensive to the Catholic Church. Or what about regulations that prevent doctors in Catholic hospitals from performing certain types of operations? These are the things which create fear in the minds of the non-Catholic community that should the Catholics gain greater political power, the rights of others in terms of the books they read,

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the motion pictures they see, the kind of medical care they may receive, would be seriously limited.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: This is certainly a possibility. But in the cases you cite, the Catholic position is not one which is restricted to Catholics alone, nor is it one which is based solely upon faith and religious doctrine, but rather upon interpretation of the law of nature.

Let us take first the question you have raised regarding censorship. We do have censorship in this country at the federal level through the postal regulations. Yet a majority of the citizens of the country are not Catholic and as far as I can determine the imposition of censorship under these laws is generally supported by the people of the country. Whereas the Legion of Decency does receive a great deal of public attention, there are many other organized groups such as the Protestant Motion Picture Council, the American Jewish Committee and the American Association of University Women who publish lists involving a moral judgment on motion pictures. There are, of course, many city and state censorship boards which act just as forcefully and sometimes with less careful judgment than the Legion of Decency itself.

MR. HARRISON: Let me press this point about how hospitable Catholics really are to the freest possible expression of differing ideas and tastes. We have heard of pressures that are put on the motion picture industry—whom they may hire or the subject matter of motion pictures. Such pressures seem to come largely from Catholic sources—in this instance, the Legion of Decency. The effect of the pressure is to curtail the American consumer's freedom of choice. Would you agree with that?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: One may well question some of the methods used by supporters of the Legion of Decency and question their judgment of specific motion pictures; undoubtedly local groups of Catholics sometimes used rather arrogant means of expressing disapproval, and the extent to which such sanctions may be applied is, I grant, a matter of dispute. I must note, however, Ingrid Bergman's latest picture was highly recommended in the Catholic press. The concern over Catholic influence in the field of censorship may in part be a consequence of the fact that the Catholic Church perhaps lends itself somewhat more easily to organization. When Catholics speak, they are likely to speak through an organization which either is strong or gives the appearance of strength; whereas in many other religious groups there is less organization and consequently a need to develop an organization for effective action.

MR. HARRISON: What about the matter of birth control?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: The Catholic position in opposition to artificial birth control is well known, but again it is a position which is not exclusively Catholic. Many Protestants as well as people of other religions, including Hindus and Moslems, are opposed to birth control. The birth control laws of Connecticut and Massachusetts, for example, which have been a matter of great controversy, were put on the statute books of those states not by Catholics, but by Protestants.

MR. HARRISON: Let's return to Mr. Kennedy, since it's his candidacy which has stirred up much of the recent discussion about Catholics in politics. I was interested in the Gallup Poll early in May in which a cross-section of citizens were asked: "If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for President and he happened to be a Catholic, would you vote for him?" Sixty-eight percent said they would, 24 percent said they wouldn't, and eight percent said they didn't know. But the remarkable thing to me was that when the same question was put just to Catholics, the results were more anti-Catholic: 53 percent, in other words 15 percent less than the general population, said they would vote for a Catholic candidate; 35 percent said "no," and 12 percent didn't know. If this poll has any accuracy, it raises the question of just how much Catholics do stick together in politics.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I am always reluctant to interpret polls. I assume that in the case of the Gallup Poll to which you refer that many people were not answering the question on an abstract basis, but undoubtedly had in mind a specific candidate. This is one possible interpretation. It is generally conceded that from 60 to 70 percent of the Catholics in the country are Democrats, leaving approximately 30 to 35 percent who are Republicans. If all these Republicans were thinking of a possible Democratic Catholic candidate for President — a possibility which seems much more likely than that they would have a candidate on the Republican ticket—this would explain the 35 percent who said "no." Assuming that there might be some cross-overs for personal or religious reasons, it is possible, too, that some Democrats who were polled were not favorable to any one of the numerous Catholic candidates who have been mentioned and registered their protest in the poll.

I haven't made a thorough study of the election returns in my state, but I did receive just recently an article which was based upon a study of the trends in one county in Minnesota which is described as the most Catholic county in the United States. In the election of last November, my vote there was 13,465 whereas the vote of my non-Catholic opponent was 10,903. In 1954 in the same county, Senator Humphrey, a non-Catholic, received 13,342 and his opponent, a non-Catholic, 10,924. In so far as I know, there were no significant variations or other factors affecting the election of 1958 as distinguished from 1954.

MR. HARRISON: In '58 Governor Freeman, who is not a Catholic, was also on the ticket. How did his vote in that same county compare to yours?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: He ran a little behind me in 1958, but he ran about an equal distance behind Senator Humphrey in 1954 in the same county.

MR. HARRISON: During last year's campaign were you attacked on the basis of your being a Catholic?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I think the word attack is too strong. There were letters circulated and postcards in which the

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religious issue was specifically raised against me, although so far as I know they were very limited in number and I'd say even less intense or violent than attacks which were directed at me through the years in my own Congressional district. There was no evidence of any kind of state-wide planned attack. There was also open critisism of me in at least one *Catholic* paper in Minnesota during the campaign!

MR. HARRISON: On what grounds?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Not on religious grounds! The principal emphasis was placed upon my liberalism, my association with the Americans for Democratic Action and their approval of my voting record, and the support I received from organized labor.

MR. HARRISON: Do you agree with Will Herberg's idea that "American Catholics still labor under the heavy weight of the bitter memory of non-acceptance in a society overwhelmingly and self-consciously Protestant"?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I can only speak with any degree of certainty about my own state. In Minnesota we are in a fortunate position in that when immigrants arrived, there was no established class or population. Most of the immigrants came as farmers and independent land owners. This is true of the Irish, Scandinavians, the German immigrants and even the later immigrants from Central and Southeastern Europe. Each major group soon after it arrived established its colleges and schools along with churches. The feeling of being under-privileged is one which really has never been known in Minnesota and was not reflected in Minnesota politics. The first well-known Minnesota Catholic Archbishop, John Ireland, was an outspoken Republican.

MR. HARRISON: Do you attach any significance to the rise in recent years of the influence of Roman Catholics in the Democratic Party? The Chairman of the Party has been a Roman Catholic since, I think, the days of Roosevelt.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: At least as far back as I remember.

MR. HARRISON: There's Mike DiSalle, Senator Lausche and Mike Kirwan in Ohio; Pastore from Rhode Island; Governor Lawrence in Pennsylvania; Massachusetts with Kennedy, McCormack and Furcolo; McNamara and Phil Hart from Michigan; both Senators from Montana are Catholics; and there's Muskie in Maine. And Pat Brown in California.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I think the increase in the number of Catholics who have been elected as Governors of the various states is significant. The number of Catholics in the Senate today, however, is about the same as it was back in 1936 and about the same as it was in 1948 when the Democrats had relatively strong control of the House and of the Senate.

Remember that Catholics in the United States have always been Democrats in great number. Under the old political system, I am sure that it was argued that it was wise to elect a Catholic as Chairman of the Democratic Party so as to keep Catholics in the party and keep them happy. This kind of reasoning no longer seems necessary. Politicians have been at fault in that they have come to believe in the necessity of such things as balanced tickets and national distribution. The old pattern of the balanced ticket and having nationalities properly represented, and religions properly represented, geographical areas properly represented—all of this seems to have passed on. I hope that it has and the signs are very strong. You cite a number of elections in which Catholics were chosen. However in the state of Connecticut, which is strongly Catholic, Abe Ribicoff has been elected and re-elected as Governor. Massachusetts and Rhode Island, both of which are strongly Catholic, and Connecticut, each have one Senator who is a Catholic and one who is not a Catholic.

MR. HARRISON: You've been in practical politics some and you're a Catholic. Have you been pressured by the Church to vote for this or that bill?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I have never had any pressure put upon me by any member of the Catholic hierarchy to vote for any legislation that has come before the Congress in the 10 years during which I served in that body. In so far as I can recall, I have never had even a legislative recommendation from any of the hierarchy in my own state. Of course, I have been familiar with the positions which have been taken by members of the Catholic hierarchy on a number of issues and also the position which has been expressed to Congress by such groups as the National Catholic Welfare Conference which through the years has given active support to such things as the Mutual Security program, a liberalization of immigration laws, improvement of the migratory farm labor legislation, and a number of other proposals.

MR. HARRISON: You're speaking of national affairs. But what about the intervention of the hierarchy in local affairs? You may recall the fight in the state legislature of Connecticut in 1957 over a school bus bill by which the state would have provided certain assistance to Roman Catholic parochial schools. The bill finally was passed after a tie vote by the vote of the Speaker, who was not himself a Catholic. During the debate a pastoral letter from Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien of Hartford was read at all Masses in the state on the Sunday before the vote, counselling Catholics, Catholic parents, that, "Since more than 62 percent of the children born in 1956 are Catholic, you should carefully observe the action taken, especially that of your local representative."

SENATOR MCCARTHY: A number of cases exist in which similar action has been taken on other issues by members of the Catholic clergy as well as by clergymen of other denominations. The same sort of question was raised in California when the attempt was made to take away the tax exemption given to church property. Both Catholics and Protestants spoke out strongly against the proposed amendment in the course of this last campaign. The question here is one of proper methods and of balance and restraint.

MR. HARRISON: Any discriminating citizen would probably

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grant that Catholics should have the same right to influence people as anybody else. But we are led to the fear of some that should they become powerful enough, Catholics wouldn't tolerate open competition. Non-Catholics bring up the statement of Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the "Constitution of States," where he said: "It is not lawful for the State any more than for the individual either to disregard all religions or to hold in equal favor different kinds of religion." People aren't worried because Cardinal Spellman has influence, but of what might happen to dissenters should Catholics win control of the country.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I refer again to the statement of the Catholic Bishops and the statement of Archbishop McNicholas which I quoted earlier. I am sure you are familiar, too, with the statements of Father John Courtney Murray. I myself wrote in an article in *Commonweal* in 1951 as follows: "The proposition that a Catholic majority could rightfully suppress Protestant or other religious minorities teaching nothing likely to subvert the temporal common good is untenable. In the same way the argument that a Protestant or other religious majority could rightfully proscribe or interfere with religious freedom of Catholics is also untenable." I have not been excommunicated.

MR. HARRISON: You would describe yourself as a believing Catholic?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Yes—and practicing!

MR. HARRISON: What connection do you personally make between the doctrines and the moral principles put forward by the Church and your day-to-day political decisions?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: It is hard to give a short answer. My thesis is that strictly speaking there is no such thing as a Catholic or a Christian politics, or a Catholic or Christian political system, or a Catholic or Christian form of government, any more than you can properly speak of a Catholic physics or a Catholic geometry. It's a mistake to label a political party a Catholic party, as they do in some of the European countries, or a Christian Democratic Party as they've done in Germany.

MR. HARRISON: Why?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Because it gives to what is properly political action a kind of religious overtone which is improper. There is a danger in it both to proper political procedures and a danger in it too to religion and religious institutions. The line should be kept clear. It doesn't follow from this that there is no such thing as a Catholic or a Christian approach to certain issues. If a Christian genuinely accepts the teachings of his church with regard to his obligations to his fellow man, it seems to me that this would be reflected in his approach to a problem like immigration, or famine relief to India or Haiti. But this is not strictly speaking a Christian politics.

MR. HARRISON: You use Christian and Catholic interchangeably.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: That's right, and in these areas the distinctions are rather hard to draw. I would include the humanists, too. I'm only saying that since the Christian does have certain beliefs those beliefs ought to be reflected in his approach to politics.

MR. HARRISON: Apparently some Catholic editors felt that Senator Kennedy's article in *Look* magazine didn't acknowledge sufficiently the influence religious convictions should have on political behavior. The most controversial part of that article, at least to the Catholic press, appears to have been his remark that, "Whatever one's religion and his private life, nothing can take precedence over his oath."

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Senator Kennedy was both criticized and defended in the Catholic press. But before commenting, I would like to divide the statement and say first that there is no conflict between Catholicism and the oath of office which one is called upon to take as President of the United States, as a member of the United States Congress, or for any other government office. And, on the other hand, to say that one's religion does have bearing upon his political activities and upon his theory of politics. The United States has never demanded of its citizens absolute submission to political power. Dean Sayre, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of Washington, summarized this admirably in a television program last June when he said that, "No Christian can grant to the State an absolute right over his conscience"; and went on to say that Catholics, as well as Protestants, owe "allegiance to the Lord which is over and above and beyond the allegiance that we owe to the State." In our own time, the Nazi war crimes which were committed in the name of the State were challenged and individuals were punished following the trials on the basis of the existence of a higher, although unwritten, law and responsibility.

MR. HARRISON: We started by agreeing that a good deal of this current discussion has arisen again because of the prospect of a Catholic Presidential candidate. And since the President is directly charged with responsibility for conducting our foreign affairs, it will certainly be asked whether a Catholic President wouldn't be heavily influenced by a Vatican foreign policy line.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I don't see any danger of that happening, really, because for one thing, the international political policy of the Catholic Church is hard to determine and insofar as it can be determined, it seems to coincide largely with United States foreign policy. The possibility that because the Catholic Church is aggressively anti-Communist, United States policy might be forced into a fixed mold which would not allow for any flexibility or adjustment seems remote.

MR. HARRISON: You say it would be very difficult to define the international "line" of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet isn't it true that the Church in every country has been anti-Socialist and disposed to conservative, right-wing parties?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: There is some truth in what you say. It should be noted, however, that European socialism, at least in the beginning, was usually doctrinaire rather than practical or pragmatic, and as a general rule included

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anti-clericalism if not anti-religion as accompanying that objective. In more recent years, however, this hard line has been softened. Catholic political parties and the socialists have been working closely together for the recovery of Western Europe. In the United States, the programs which generally have been labeled as socialistic have been supported by Catholics in the Congress. The British Labour Party too, I believe, has strong Catholic support. There is certainly in Catholic teaching and writing a great body of thought supporting economic, social and political change.

MR. HARRISON: Do you think that in our lifetime a Catholic, assuming he is qualified, could be elected President?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: It depends on the personality of the candidate and on the issues. Catholicism itself would not be an insuperable obstacle in my opinion.

MR. HARRISON: How do you explain the fact that Harry Truman, a Baptist, proposed to send a representative to the Vatican and Jack Kennedy, a Catholic, says he thinks it's a bad idea?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I will not undertake to explain Senator Kennedy's position, but I have heard President Truman discuss his attitude a number of times. It was his opinion that the Vatican would provide an excellent listening post and that it would have been helpful to American policy to have an ambassador there. It is possible that Mr. Truman over-emphasized and over-valued the Vatican as a listening post. It is my opinion that the desire of the President in power on an issue of this kind should be given a great deal of weight. The question raised by Senator Kennedy of the division which might result at home, however, is deserving of consideration also.

MR. HARRISON: Aren't you considerably more willing to let people follow their own inclinations in terms of what they read, what they hear, what kind of medical care they are going to have, than are the majority of your co-religionists? Isn't your brand of liberalism unusual for a Catholic?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I assume you're using "liberalism" as synonymous with a respect for civil liberties and civil rights, an enlightened internationalism, a willingness to experiment and to use the powers of government to promote economic justice and security. Well, in this sense, I doubt whether my liberalism is unusual for a Catholic. I could name two or three Senators who are, on the record, just as liberal as I am if not more so. I think that voting records will show that certainly on the average, Catholics in both the Senate and the House are more liberal than the average of the Congress taken altogether.

MR. HARRISON: Do you think we all ought to say in advance of the '60 campaign that religious affiliation has no relevance and should be ruled out of the political debate?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: No. I wouldn't say that it has no relevance or that it should be ruled out of political debate altogether. But in my opinion, only proper questions should be asked and the political debate on the issues should be kept within bounds. It is quite improper to ask a man who offers himself as a candidate for the Presidency or who is proposed by a major political party with the full knowledge that he will have to take the oath of office whether or not he will honestly fulfill that oath of office. To the extent that religious beliefs may influence political action, then inquiry into the stand of a candidate on those issues may have some justification. One might wish to question a Christian Scientist on the question of medical research; a Quaker on national defense policy, a Catholic on a possible national divorce law. But none should be prejudged. Unfortunately the wrong questions are too often asked or the right questions asked improperly or directed to the wrong persons.

MR. HARRISON: Yet, no candidate for the Presidency has felt obligated in the past to discuss his relationship with the Baptist Church or the Episcopalian Church. This whole discussion seems to be exclusively relevant to Catholic candidates.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: In fairness, the questions which might be asked of one denomination I think should be asked of members of all others since on no one of these issues could one be absolutely certain of the position taken by members of the other denominations that might be involved.

MR. HARRISON: What about such charges as were circulated in California in 1958 against Pat Brown, that the election of a Catholic as Governor would result in the abolition of the public school system. Isn't that an example of an "out-of-bounds" use of religious affiliation as a way of discrediting a candidate?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Yes, since it involved a prejudgment of Pat Brown and I am sure a misrepresentation of his position. It would, of course, be in order if a person were not informed to inquire as to what stand Pat Brown took on a current issue relating to the public school system. I am sure that on the basis of his record as Attorney General that this record would be clear to most people.

MR. HARRISON: What do you think is at the bottom of the continuing doubt and suspicion of Catholics in some liberal, egghead circles?

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I think that basically this doubt and suspicion arises from the liberals' position that everyone should have an open mind and make his decisions issue by issue and that since, according to the liberal's judgment, Catholics are doctrinaire, they cannot approach each issue with a fully open mind. The fact is that in many cases the liberals are really doctrinaire in their way and issue by issue are inclined to be as doctrinaire as anyone else is. I think it would be helpful if the word *liberal* could somehow be copyrighted and used only under carefully circumscribed conditions. Perhaps its use as a noun should be outlawed so that henceforth no one would be simply a liberal, but would have to be a liberal something. In politics he would be a liberal Democrat or a liberal Republican or a liberal Vegetarian. If religion were to be the substantive used to distinguish, he would be a liberal Catholic, a liberal Episcopalian, or a liberal Presbyterian or a liberal of some other denomination. This, it seems to me, would make things simpler for those who are called liberals as well as for the critics of liberals and liberalism.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Robert Lowell's Family Album

by Stephen Spender

THE great achievement of poets at the beginning of this century was their conquest of new areas of seemingly unpoetic experience in idiomatic language which, through their mastery of rhythm, became poetry. Pound and Eliot did not confine themselves to the themes which were "poetic" within the Georgian idiom; nor did they throw away everything except a kind of chaotic verbal subjectivism in the hope that the uninhibited subconscious touched at some points on poetry, as some free verse writers did then, and as the Beatniks do today. Robert Lowell is an outstanding pioneer extending the frontiers of language, making notable conquests of material which often seems too eccentric for poetry and consolidating it in very strong and compact form. Where even in Pound an anecdote remains poetically unresolved in the surface of the cantos, Lowell is able to make from the anecdotal a language like mosaic:

Life Studies
by Robert Lowell
(Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $3.50)

> "Anchors aweigh," Daddy boomed in his bathtub,
> "Anchors aweigh,"
> when Lever Brothers offered to pay
> him double what the Navy paid.
> I nagged him for his dress sword with gold braid,
> and cringed because Mother, new
> caps on all her teeth, was born anew
> at forty. With seamanlike celerity,
> Father left the Navy,
> and deeded Mother his property.

Most of these life studies are concerned with members of the Lowell family. Background material is supplied by a prose interlude called "91 Revere Street," which is an account of Robert Lowell's childhood among grownups whose portraits he draws in lines as strong as prison bars. The considerable hardness of his portrayals is not mitigated by the deep kind of charity which consists of being as honest about himself as about everyone else, and by a very great and idiosyncratic humor. His weakness is a judgment sure to the point of rigidity and lacking in a certain freedom: the freedom which allows that the judge might not be 100 percent right. He writes of his father:

> By the time he graduated from Annapolis, he had a high sense of abstract form, which he beclouded with his humor. He had reached, perhaps, his final mental possibilities. He was deep —not with profundity, but with the dumb depth of one who trusted in statistics and was dubious of personal experience. In his forties, Father's soul went underground. . . .

It is a brilliant characterization but perhaps a bit too final. This finality is the strength of the poetry, but also constitutes a danger for it. The poems are like beautifully made barrels, taut, tense and made of real wood with sprung hoops. The danger is that the essence of an invisible world which is poetry will be excluded. At present this danger lends drama to the poems. Taking pleasure in the workmanship, the idiosyncrasies, the solidity of anecdote tacked onto anecdote, one confidently awaits the moment of revelation. Sometimes, as in "Ford Madox Ford," one feels a bit deprived. The reward—in the form of a flat statement delivered as ironic anticlimax—seems of a kind that would only satisfy once:

> . . . Ford,
> you were a kind man and you died in want.

At other times, the writing is so effective that it is its own reward, especially when Lowell writes of his childhood:

> I picked with a clean fingernail at the blue anchor
> or my sailor blouse washed white as a spinnaker.
> What in the world was I wishing?
> . . . A sail-colored horse browsing in the bullrushes . . .
> A fluff of the west wind puffing
> my blouse, kiting me over our seven chimneys,
> troubling the waters. . . .

Sometimes most literal observation acquires a hallucinated intensity:

> Azure day
> makes my agonized blue window bleaker.
> Crows maunder on the petrified fairway.

What Lowell really does here is reverse the process whereby he has constructed an image of his soul from the most patient, humoristic, liberal studies of the behavior of friends and relations.

DOUBTLESS some will say that he has created a "Lowell myth." But mythology is a slippery word, and perhaps it would be more to the point to say that he has shown a way out of the prisons of mythology which most poets today feel they must construct as their habitats. He has taken a lot of facts, observed or remembered (each of them strikingly separate as brittle shape or anecdote), and made from them his own truth. This truth is obstinate, moving and sometimes even tragic, for the way in which Mr. Lowell insists on treating all the truths that strike him on the same level, as the same sort of truth. What these poems point out is the possibility of a humanist kind of poetry, in which disparate experiences are bound up within the sensibility of a poet who has himself an immense compassion combined with clearness and hardness. Tension is supplied by the reconciliation of very opposite personal qualities of the poet within his poems.

The epigrammatic is, I suppose, the manner which binds together these bundles of observation often as brazen as—this is what I have been looking for! —Tolstoy!

> In the grandiloquent lettering on Mother's coffin,
> Lowell had been misspelled LOVEL.
> The corpse
> was wrapped like *panetone* in Italian tinfoil.

Is not that like something from *War and Peace*? And does not Lowell often seem to be writing the poems of Pierre Bezukov?

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Our Bitter Patriot

by Charles Shapiro

THEODORE DREISER'S stubborn combination of honesty, naïveté, and talent has left him the victim of sophisticated critics. The author of *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy* often seemed pitifully exposed in his earnestness, and as his collected letters reveal, he was utterly unable to insulate himself by getting at a distance from his own experience. Perhaps this accounts for both his lack of humor and the sophomoric philosophizing which characterize so many of the over 600 items compiled by Robert Elias.

The Letters of Theodore Dreiser
edited by Robert H. Elias
(Pennsylvania; three volumes; $18)

The letters date from 1897 to 1945, beginning with Dreiser as a cocky, frenetic, popular magazine editor with a lamentable comic style. The letters to Mencken especially are crammed with a forced, painful attempt at wit:

> By the way the children's agent of the National Home Finding Society of Baltimore sent me three photos of three different children who bear a suspicious resemblance to a certain editorial writer who shall be nameless—for the present. However I am looking up the facts. If it should prove, as I surmise that he is the guilty party, I propose to have him arrested. This unrestricted traffic in copulation must cease. I give fair warning.

The three volumes are loaded with such paragraphs as the following:

> . . . I swear I can scarcely grasp the stupidity of men, at times, as much as I have witnessed & even been the victim of it. So called *mind* seems to me for the most an illusion. The actions of men have little to do with it or its primary principle—logic. In fact men act and react by some system of responses—chemic or psychic which has nothing to do with what we have been dreaming of as mind. . . .

As Anthony West has pointed out in his nasty review in *The New Yorker*, Dreiser was hardly a serious student of politics as his shifting position on Socialism and Fascism show. His letters prove, for once and forever, that Dreiser was at one point in his life an articulate anti-Semite. He was no angel and feared treading nowhere. And so he spoke out as he did on Catholicism, *The Reader's Digest*, and Communism. He predicted a German victory over Britain, saw no essential difference between Nazi Germany and Churchillian England, and though once on friendly terms with FDR ended up characterizing the President as a man with "a traitorous ego."

Many other sensational failures of sense and taste are documented in the letters and should be noted, and this helps explain why Dreiser could never accurately describe certain parts of his America. The critics have pounced on his failure (especially in *The Genius*, *An American Tragedy*, and *The Stoic*) to hear and recreate the tone of upper class dialogues. While he could understand a Papa Gerhardt or a Clyde Griffiths, he never could adequately deal with a Sondra Finchley. (Hollywood knew exactly what it was doing when it cast Elizabeth Taylor as the rich girl.)

For a man who fought for freedom to handle sex honestly in fiction, he displays a high-school attitude towards women and love. In a passionate letter, filled with endearments such as "Honey Pot" and "Little Blue Bird," Dreiser asks why "Divine Fire" has not written him. ". . . What. Do ju lub me? Had you sweet doe eyes? Or are dey dough eyes? (Ooooh what a slam.) And will jus always love me. What!" This is just how Frank Cowperwood operates with the women he seduces in *The Financier*, *The Stoic* and *The Titan*.

So here we have all of Dreiser's weaknesses. He was vain, arrogant, often stupid, pompously preaching on topics he knew little or nothing about.

Then why, despite it all, do Dreiser's novels continue to hurt and reveal?

In discussing his first novel, *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser once stated "I never can and never want to bring myself to the place where I can ignore the sensitive and seeking individual in his pitiful struggle with nature—with his enormous urges and his pathetic equipment." Each of his important works is an elaboration of this central theme of the suffering of the individual in the land of great dreams, and each novel illustrates a different aspect of what Dreiser felt was a crucial misdirection of American energy. In *Sister Carrie* he concerned himself with the study of the individual, showing how Carrie and Hurstwood, decent, vital people, were harmed and corrupted. *Jennie Gerhardt* carried on this theme, but the primary concern of Dreiser was now with the American family. Two families, polar opposites on the social scale, were presented in their failures. As in *Sister Carrie*, the blame is less on the individual than on America's false goals. In his trilogy (*The Financier*, *The Stoic*, and *The Titan*) even the successful were harmed by the inherent cruelty of their world. In *The Genius* Dreiser tried to portray and understand the forces harmful to the American artist, and in *The Bulwark*, his most unusual work, he studied American religion and its failure to come to terms with the realities of American life. *An American Tragedy* is Dreiser's most important work, for it incorporates all the themes underlying his other novels. The story of young Clyde Griffiths becomes the story of all America; and beneath the individual story lies a steady, concentrated concern with a society he believed has failed.

Dreiser was a self-conscious craftsman and not the careless semi-literate he is made to seem in so many college textbooks. As Randolph Bourne put it ". . . his faults are those of his material and of uncouth bulk, and not of shoddiness. He expresses an America that is in process of forming. The interest he evokes is part of the eager interest we feel in that growth." To quote Alfred Kazin, his was a "bitter patriotism," one coming out "of loving what one knows."

DREISER'S shyness is as apparent in his letters as was his sympathy. He wrote to judges on behalf of prisoners and seemed constantly involved in helping to push the literary careers of young writers.

There is valuable source material, especially on *An American Tragedy*. Unlike many writers, he announces, before writing each novel, just what he is setting out to do:

> I had long brooded upon the story, for it seemed to me not only to include every phase of our national life—politics, society, religion, business, sex—but it was a story so common to every boy

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reared in the smaller towns of America. It seemed so truly a story of what life does to the individual—and how important the individual is against such forces.

Dreiser had run-ins with Communists and others who told him how he ought to write and behave. In one letter he writes that a novel should be neither a "religious tract" nor contain a "material message." "The artist has but one duty: to present life 'in the round'. If any one thereafter wishes to extract a spiritual message, well and good; or a material message, good also. The picture is the thing." In 1915, replying to a fan letter, Dreiser puts it simply. " . . . The world owes me nothing—or little at best. I have not felt that I owed the world much. My sympathy and sorrow have been for individuals—never for life itself."

Here is the heart of his life and his work. Bitterly lonely, crude, and often wrong-headed, Dreiser could still care about himself, about what happened to others. And this is the quality of character that distinguishes the work of some of our best contemporary writers (I am thinking of Saul Bellow and Bernard Malamud). It is precisely the absence of this compassion that makes too much of contemporary fiction seem like literary finger-exercises.

Reporters in Washington

by Gerald W. Johnson

MR. CATER'S basic theory is that the branches of American government are not three, but four, the executive, legislative, judiciary and communicative. The fact that the fourth branch is not mentioned in the Constitution is irrelevant; it exists, and its malfunctioning may be, and frequently is as serious a matter as a breakdown of any of the three branches that are mentioned. His short, but exceedingly solid book is an examination of the way in which communication is operating in Washington.

The Fourth Branch of Government
by Douglass Cater
(Houghton Mifflin; $3.50)

On this particular subject Mr. Cater is possibly the best-informed man in the country. As a correspondent—Washington editor of *The Reporter* magazine—he has viewed the government from the outside; as special assistant to the Secretary of the Army and consultant to the Director of Mutual Security, he has viewed it from the inside; as speech-writer for Senator Sparkman in the campaign of 1952 he learned the slant of the practical politician; as a Guggenheim Fellow he studied the situation from the academic point of view; and as an Eisenhower Fellow he had opportunity to compare our system with those of other nations.

The one angle from which he has not examined the problem is that of the non-Washingtonian, non-academic, unofficial newspaper reader; yet in one sentence he has voiced the chief complaint of the man in the street, although he puts it in the minds of "the honest ones" among Washington reporters who "sometimes feel despairingly that more and more is being written about less and less."

Mr. Cater is sharply aware that the great bulk of the material coming out of Washington daily is not news, it is publicity. If it comes to that, so is a great deal of other material. The most conspicuous fault of American journalism is its tendency to bury information under an avalanche of verbiage. It is an occupational disease of the craft; on an eight-column page seven columns of advertising must be balanced by one column of reading matter—and all too often "reading matter," not news, is just what it is.

Mr. Cater observes that the stupendous success of the news magazines is due to the fact that they have corrected this fault; but it is his opinion—shared here—that they have largely neutralized this merit by slanting the news, sometimes crassly, but sometimes so subtly as to "deceive the very elect."

The account in this book of the endless battle against censorship is notable for its temperate language and well-balanced judgment, but it doesn't probe deeply enough. Mr. Cater quotes at length from Robert Cutler's argument about the disastrous effect of premature publicity on the formulation of policy, but he does not stress sufficiently the fact that this is the oligarchic attitude characteristic of officialdom. The intervention of public opinion at the critical moment is always resented by officials and is often disastrous to their plans; but that is not necessarily as great an evil as would be the loss of the people's authority. If we are to maintain self-government, we must accept the risk of being destroyed by our own folly; and if one cannot believe that the effort is worth the risk, his faith in democracy is feeble.

Like every other analyst of public opinion Cater was disconcerted by McCarthyism, and he is still bemused as much by its sudden disappearance as by its rise. "Nobody, not even the editors, could tell you why. Suddenly, McCarthy was no longer 'news'." But surely, it is plain enough. The fellow became a bore. The same fate overtook Tom Heflin, and probably would have overtaken Huey Long except for the assassin's bullet.

This element in American public opinion is not susceptible of logical analysis, therefore is unpredictable, and students of public affairs dislike the illogical. But to ignore it is a grave error. It can be argued with great plausibility that by every rule of logic this country should have collapsed long ago, as John Marshall, a strict logician, predicted it would. Mr. Cater does not go to any such extreme, but he does find in our system of communication between the government and the people contradictions that he cannot resolve, and he fears their logical result.

Yet every important chapter in American history attests that the forces operative in this democracy do not always bring about their logical result. That constantly recurring element of surprise is one of the charms of the story, but it is a factor that should be rigorously restricted to the background of the student's thinking. The prudent course is not to bank on the luck that has attended us so far, but to be prepared for the worst. Cater's strictures on the Fourth Branch of Government are solidly based on fact; therefore they must be viewed seriously, if not, perhaps, quite as gloomily as he seems to view them.

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ART

Some Quieter Americans

At the Whitney Museum in New York now and through the middle of June is a choice medium-sized collection within the collection of the Museum. On view are the 55 examples of American 20th Century painting, drawing and sculpture acquired in the five years of its active life by the Sara Roby Foundation. Before you even get to the pictures and pieces there a number of attractive things about the Roby Foundation and its collection.

The most important of these, I imagine, is the number-two purpose of it all. The number-one purpose, which the Foundation shares with all foundations so conceived and so dedicated, is the support of art. The Roby approach is direct: it buys art. This is the first of many points of contact between the Foundation and the Museum. The most striking of these points is the composition of the officers and directors. Three out of five are trustees and/or staff-members of the Whitney. Mrs. Roby is executive director and the fifth member is Isabel Bishop. The collection is housed in and administered by the Museum and the administration of the collection brings up the most important point of contact between the two institutions and the clearest distinguishing note of the Foundation. The collection exists to be lent out as individual items, as groups of works, as a whole.

On paper this is true of a lot of tax deductible collections of pictures, but for quite a few of them, the purpose is a formality, discharged by a brief annual token loan to the local art museum or by the recorded visits of legitimate scholars. There is nothing illegal or even immoral about this practice. It has made it possible for Americans to buy an imposing array of the art of all times and countries. And the use of this device does assure the eventual public possession and availability of all that painting and sculpture. But a lot of museums legally own important paintings which in fact are in private collections and won't be in public collections for decades.

On balance, the practice is good, but how nice it is to see the Roby Foundation performing as if charters mean exactly what they say.

Lloyd Goodrich, director of the Whitney and secretary of the Foundation, says in the foreword to the show that the common denominator of the Roby collection is "a concern with form." That's true enough in several of the many ways the phrase could be used. But there's another concern going on in most of the Roby works that Goodrich, perhaps from an understandable prudence, doesn't mention. This is the concern with man, especially with the human situation in 20th Century America, as that situation is portrayed and commented upon in 20th Century American art.

As would be expected, such a concern (like, for that matter, a concern with form), necessarily ignores a substantial majority of what the cohorts of *Art News* sincerely believe to be the only thing going on in American art today, that is, abstract expressionism, action painting, *Schmeerkunst*. In a pure sense there isn't any at all. The few examples that might fit into the canon are actually engaged in the same examination of the human situation, two of them very powerfully so. In his "Canticle," Mark Tobey controls the density and direction of his little white marks so that they are indeed a song arising from the dark earth's curvature below and are also the whirl of stellar clouds in the immeasurable might. Elias Friedensohn's "Expulsion from the Garden" strikes the eye at first glance as nothing but a lot of paint in white, flesh tones, brown and green, put on in great slabs with apparently some intention of controlling an equivalent of light and shadow. Looked at from across an uncrowded room, however, the slabs fall into place and vanish. What appears is not only Adam and Eve but Masaccio's Adam and Eve in the Brancacci Chapel translated from fresco line to paint construction. The picture is one of those rare translations in any art that preserve the essence of the original and at the same time create a whole new and authentic work of art.

The Friedensohn is as far as the collection goes in the direction of the new painting and, as is clear, the Friedensohn actually goes beyond the new painting to make intelligent and deeply felt traditional use of recently evolved techniques.

For me one of the greatest pleasures and surprises of the show was a new painting by Paul Cadmus, "Night in Bologna." I've seen and admired quite a few of his recent still life drawings and have felt, like many no doubt, that they were essentially finger exercises, a deliberate sharpening of a skill so practiced that it may have been losing its edge. The new picture is a new Cadmus. Gone are the hordes of people, bathers in one memorable scene from years gone by, Americans in Rome more recently. There are three people, a GI, an Italian girl, a military cafe lounger. The three are separated by space and by the totally managed light of gathering dusk in an architectural setting that is both indoors and outdoors. The man at the table, far in the background, is a pivot for the hurrying girl, who turns her head to look at him, and the strained soldier, who looks at her, while the pale civilian cranes his neck to look at the soldier. Architectural perspective is expertly used for maximum effect and above the scene looms a lighted tower to which the yearning and yearned for soldier seems chained. The contrived-sounding little snippet of death in Bologna rises completely above the anecdotal to become an enduring human image.

The show has fine paintings by Jack Levine, Ben Shahn, Edward Hopper, Max Weber and Isabel Bishop, all operating at top form. However, the collection really concentrates on somewhat newer artists who also aren't afraid of reality.

If, as I believe is being planned, the whole collection goes on tour in the fall, its effect on the overall art scene will be all to the good.

FRANK GETLEIN

EUROPE

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Notes on Contributors

STEPHEN SPENDER is at present lecturing at the University of California. CHARLES SHAPIRO is on the faculty of Wayne State University. He is the editor of an anthology of critical essays that will appear late this month.

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MOVIES

Leftovers from Televison

THERE must be many still alive who remember the great days of television. Back in the early Fifties, hardly a Sunday went by without its article on the dramatic renaissance that was taking place in the land. The theory went that, if any medium demanded so much material, it must produce at least a small number of fine works. All we had to do was wait; among the TV oysters there were bound to be some pearls.

Middle of the Night
(Columbia)

Those of us who doubted were called cynical or blind, but we thought there were two factors that made the theory dubious. First, commercial sponsorship afflicts the field doubly: editorially (references to Buchenwald's gas ovens are eliminated because the sponsor is the American Gas Association); and because its interest is not intrinsic, it is based on the effect of the plays as advertisements. (There are fewer serious dramatic programs on TV now not because there are fewer writers but because plays weren't selling cars and cigarettes.)

In those distant days of the TV dramatic boom, the picture companies, nervously competing, rushed to buy successful TV scripts—so that if you missed a much-discussed play in your living room, you could probably see it around the corner at the Bijou ten months later. That parade, too, has dwindled; but these remarks are prompted by the film of Paddy Chayefsky's *Middle of the Night*, which was born on TV and has already had another incarnation in the theatre. To me this is the best of the TV transformations into film, far more effective than the grubbily patronizing *Marty* or the dramatically fallacious *Twelve Angry Men*.

The Chayefsky school of TV writing tends to dwell on the small moment in the small life, as if the author's mind were cramped by the narrow screen into concentration on naturalistic minutiae. Crises are often built of accumulated naggings rather than large conflicting forces. But despite its naturalistic texture, the Chayefsky school is a romantic one—in the sense that all art can be viewed as either classic or romantic. The former states the universal and through it tries to reach the particular, the latter states the particular and tries to reach the universal. The Chayefskians then, pose a small instance and try to reach larger implications through it.

Too often they have merely stated the instance and not evoked the widespread implications. But *Middle of the Night*, though lapped in verism, goes on to touch a universal quick nerve. It has all the trappings of stenographic dialogue and repertorial detail, it has the usual air of emasculated Odets (that is, social drama without social purpose); but the subject matter is larger than humdrum life, and both major characters rise to it.

It is a story of love in a man who knows he ought not to be in love, that the facts of his life are not congenial to that love. Age is one barrier; devolving from that, the knowledge that he is deliberately cultivating the girl's pity and admiration into passion is another; consciousness of selfishness and future disaster is still another.

Fredric March plays the 56-year-old New York garment manufacturer, a

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widower, who falls in love with his secretary, 24, a divorcee. What starts out as a friendship soon becomes an affair, then an engagement. The engagement is fractured by a quarrel, engendered not so much by his jealousy as by his fear of jealousy; this is capped by a visit of her former husband in which she learns that she is still physically attracted to him.

As I remember the TV play, the girl chooses the older man at last because his humanity and maturity have spoiled her for mere raw young sex. In the film this good point is subordinated to March's decision (prompted by his partner's suicide attempt) to embrace whatever he can get of love in his remaining years without complaint. This altered emphasis puts the re-union in the man's hands, which is perhaps where the chivalrous film public wants it to be.

March, a fine and constantly growing actor, gives a thoroughly moving performance. There is nothing wrong with him in the part except that he ought not to be in it. In a film that is so finicky about accurate details of setting and speech, it is difficult to accept him as a denizen of Seventh Avenue. The phraseology and the milieu simply do not fit him.

As the secretary Kim Novak offers her most satisfactory performance to date, and we had best not compare Miss Novak with anyone but herself. Her character is an easily recognizable one in our society: the unhappy girl who doesn't really know why she's unhappy, what she's looking for or capable of. Miss Novak approximates some of its self-impatience and misunderstood hungers moderately well.

Several contemporary playwrights — Chayefsky and William Inge, for example—frequently use a device they derive from the Russian masters. The minor characters sound a certain note which we know is not their real note, and each one, as if it were his constitutional right, gets his scene in which to reveal his true self. Martin Balsam as March's son-in-law, Joan Copeland as his daughter, and Albert Dekker as his partner do well in their big scenes.

Delbert Mann's direction is well attuned to this low-level-with-one-outbreak kind of writing. He can keep the commonplaces interesting or amusing, and he certainly deserves credit for what he has done with Miss Novak.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

RECORDS

From Gesualdo to Schoenberg

JOHN BROWNING, one of the young American pianists who have won competitions here and abroad and are considered outstandingly gifted, makes his first appearance on records on Capitol P-8464, on which he exhibits a dazzling technique in Chopin's Etude on black keys, Liszt's *Mephisto Waltz* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Flight of the Bumble Bee,* but does not, in the sustained melody of Bach's Chorale-Prelude *Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland*, achieve the exactly executed note-to-note continuity of tone that one hears in the playing of Glenn Gould and Van Cliburn. Also, Browning's extreme rubato elasticity of tempo produces what for my taste are excessively mannered performances of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 and Schubert's Impromptu Op. 142 No. 3. But he produces a fine realization of Debussy's *Reflets dans l'eau.*

As for Gould, the note-to-note continuity I mentioned is heard in his performances, on Columbia ML-5336, of Alban Berg's Sonata Op. 1, Schoenberg's Three Piano Pieces Op. 11 and Krenek's Sonata No. 3. And even someone who, like myself, is left uninterested and uninvolved by the Berg sonata and hears no coherent meaning in the other works is, as always, electrified by the force and tension of the playing that seizes the mind with the very first phrase and holds it fascinated with the continuing production of the object in sound.

A very different style of piano-playing is heard in Louis Kentner's performances of Chopin's Etudes Op. 10 and Op. 25 on Capitol-EMI GBR-7162. These are pieces in which a figuration exercising the hand in a particular segment of piano technique provides the terms in which Chopin creates an exquisitely thought-out and formed piece of music; and Kentner—in performances in an extremely mannered rubato style —makes the figurations hazy and unclear. I prefer the clearly executed figurations and the unaffected style (except in Op. 25 No. 1) of Robert Goldsand's performances on Concert Hall 1132/3.

Beethoven's Sonatas Op. 109 and Op. 110 would seem to lend themselves to Myra Hess' placidly relaxed playing; but one finds that even they call for a minimum of tension and force which is lacking in the performances on Angel 35705.

And the young American pianist Walter Hautzig, on Haydn 9064, gives a sensitively phrased performance of Schumann's *Davidsbuendlertaenze,* one of the sets of pieces which offer Schumann's superb writing for the piano.

COLUMBIA has issued on ML-5341 a second group of the vocal pieces by Gesualdo whose melodic and harmonic progressions are strange and daring but always make a powerful and moving musical sense of their own. They are some of the most unusual and affecting music that has come down to us; and especially impressive, on this record, are the motet *O vos omnes* and the madrigals *Io pur respiro* and *Resta di darmi noia.* Robert Craft again conducts his little group of singers in agreeable-sounding and expressive performances; and a quartet of strings plays a few instrumental pieces by Gesualdo that are astonishingly conventional in idiom.

Another notable record, Vanguard BG-579, gives us the *madrigali amorosi* from Monteverdi's *Eighth Book of Madrigals,* of which several are outstanding: *Non havea Febo ancora, Dolcissimo uscignolo* and *Su su su pastorelli vezzosi* (which are also on the Nadia Boulanger Angel and Decca records), and *Chi vol haver felice, Perchè t'en fuggi* and *Non partir ritrosetta.* The Deller Consort's performances are, as always, marvelous in their refinement of vocal tone and phrasing.

Angel 35668 has the beautiful *Officium defunctorum* (*Mass for the Dead*) of Victoria, a later work than the one on Victor LM-2254 that I reported on a few months ago, and three fine small pieces: the improperium *Popule meus* and the responsories *O magnum mysterium* and *Pastores loquebantur.* The performances by the Netherland Chamber Choir under De Nobel's direction are admirable in their transparency of tone and texture and their sensitiveness of inflection.

The pieces of 15th to 17th Century vocal polyphony on Haydn Society 9007

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include several that are especially fine: Lassus' *Nos qui sumus,* Bouzignac's *Jubilate Deo,* Du Caurroy's *Missa pro defunctis,* Palestrina's *Ergo sum panis vivus,* Morales' *Puer natus est* and Van Weerbeke's *Virgo Maria.* Good performances by Les Petits Chanteurs de la Renaissance under Marcel Noyre and Jean Pagot; but the boy sopranos are a little shrill and treble must be reduced.

Several fine examples of this music—Victoria's *Vere languares,* Giovanni Maria Nanini's *Diffusa est gratia,* Palestrina's *Super flumina Babylonis* and *Alma redemptoris Mater* and the *Agnus Dei* from his *Missa brevis*—are sung well by the Roger Wagner Chorale on Capitol P-8460, *Echoes from a 16th Century Cathedral.*

And on the other hand Capitol-EMI-G-7168 provides a long-needed performance of Beethoven's seldom-heard Mass in C. The work, first performed in 1807, has occasional startlingly beautiful, expressive and dramatic passages, all on the small scale of an early try at something which when attempted again years later came out with the sustained intensity, grandeur and exaltation of the *Missa Solemnis.* And the performance, luckily, is one of the good ones that Beecham has been achieving only rarely in recent years—with his Royal Philharmonic and Beecham Choral Society and a good solo group comprising Jennifer Vyvyan, Monica Sinclair, Richard Lewis and Marian Nowakowski.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

treme change in retail price mark-up percentages during that period, are we to assume that there has been no inflation in textiles?

How does this tally with reality? Just a few examples from personal experience. A sheet I bought in 1943 lasted for 10 years. A sheet purchased in 1953 at equal cost lasted for two years. Price increase, 500 percent. A pair of broadcloth pajamas purchased in 1942 had a lifetime of two years. A pair purchased in 1958 lasted three, possibly four months. Same price, inflationary increase from six to eight hundred per cent. A pair of nylon socks purchased in 1943 wore out ten years later. A similar pair purchased at the same price six months ago has now fallen by the wayside. Price increase, 2,000 percent.

Every consumer and user that I have ever talked with has had similar experience and is fully aware of lowered quality of products and not just in textiles. If Dr. Means can coin a phrase so can I, so let us call this "trashfactors inflation."

MRS. A. H. WARREN

Gallup, New Mexico

► *Was Lawrence an Anti-Semite?*

SIRS:

STANLEY KAUFFMANN (" 'Lady Chatterley' at Last," *NR,* May 25) states that D. H. Lawrence was anti-Semitic. Actually, Lawrence disliked "Jews of the wrong sort," as he calls them in *The Captain's Doll.* For a sympathetic portrait of a Jew of the right sort, see the character *Kangaroo* in Lawrence's novel of that name. Lawrence even wrote a play, *David,* for a Jewish actress, Ida Rauh.

Mr. Kauffmann also declares that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is not a symbolic novel. In a letter dated September 12, 1929, Lawrence writes: "Yes, the paralysis of Sir Clifford is symbolic—all art is *au fond* symbolic, conscious or unconscious. . . . I did not deliberately work symbolically. But by the time the book was finished, I realized what the unconscious symbolism was."

DEXTER MARTIN

University of Alabama

► *Ambassador in the Boondocks*

SIRS:

I HAVE READ with much interest both *The Ugly American* and Hunton L. Downs' "Ambassador in the Boondocks," (*NR,* April 27). If Mr. Downs has written his article with any true degree of seriousness I suggest that he: 1. Take a short stroll through rural Japan (he may not even have to venture into the boondocks) and note the curious utilization of bamboo for pipes; 2. Read a little of the anthropological literature on East Africa from which he may glean the curious fact that for some time these cattle-raising people have had as one of their staple foods—milk (without benefit of refrigeration).

DAVID M. LEWIS
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